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Ohio - 21st District

21 Louis Stokes (D)**Of Warrensville Heights — Elected 1968**

Born: Feb. 23, 1925, Cleveland, Ohio.
Education: Attended Western Reserve U., 1946-48;
 Cleveland Marshall Law School, J.D. 1953.
Military Career: Army, 1943-46.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Jeanette Francis; four children.
Religion: African Methodist Episcopalian.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 2304 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-7032.



In Washington: Stokes came to Congress in an era of black activism, and he is still an important spokesman on minority issues at the Appropriations Committee. But he has attracted more attention in recent years as a kind of trouble-shooter for the House leadership.

In the 97th and 98th Congress, he played that role as chairman of the House ethics committee, formally the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. He took the job at the direct request of Speaker O'Neill, who considered the previous chairman, Charles Bennett of Florida, unnecessarily rigid in dealing with colleagues. Stokes, who had often expressed concern for the accused in House ethics cases, was brought in to supply what O'Neill felt was needed balance.

Stokes had no choice as chairman but to involve himself in a series of unpleasant ethics cases.

In 1983, following a year of investigation amid gossip and published rumor, the committee brought charges against two members, Democrat Gerry Studds of Massachusetts and Republican Dan Crane of Illinois, for engaging in sex with teen-age congressional pages. Studds with a male in 1973 and Crane with a female in 1980. The committee recommended that the two members be reprimanded.

Stokes called the reprimand a severe punishment, because "the member must live with this condemnation forever." But it was too mild for Republican Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who wanted the two expelled. Ultimately GOP leader Robert H. Michel moved to increase the penalty to a censure. The censure motion passed, and Studds was stripped of his Merchant Marine subcommittee chairmanship. Crane was defeated in 1984, but Studds was reelected and regained his chairmanship in early 1985.

Meanwhile, in April 1983, Idaho Republi-

can Rep. George Hansen was indicted by a federal grand jury for failing to make public disclosure of several large financial transactions. Following Hansen's conviction in federal court in 1984, the ethics committee recommended a reprimand. When the motion came to the floor in July, there was again an attempt to change the penalty to censure, but this time Stokes was able to fend the move off. Hansen insisted that others had done the same thing he had, including the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro of New York.

In September, when a conservative legal research firm filed a complaint against Ferraro for failing to disclose some of her husband's financial dealings, Stokes' committee was obliged to begin an investigation. Three months later, the panel concluded that Ferraro had committed technical violations of the disclosure laws, but that since she had given up her seat, there was no need for House action.

Stokes' performance in all these matters won wide respect. Michel called the ethics chairmanship "the most distasteful job in the House," and when Stokes finished his final remarks on the Studds-Crane cases, he received a standing ovation.

The only negative publicity Stokes received in his years as ethics chairman involved his own arrest on a drunken driving charge. While driving through suburban Maryland late one night, he was stopped by police, who later said he failed three sobriety tests. He argued that he was tired after working late, pleaded not guilty and requested a jury trial. The press covered his arrest and the ensuing legal maneuvers as if they were a major scandal. Stokes was convicted in August of 1983 on a lesser charge and fined \$250.

During his chairmanship, Stokes endorsed

Louis Stokes, D-Ohio

Ohio 21

One of the axioms of Ohio politics is that to win statewide, a Democratic candidate must build a 100,000-vote edge in Cuyahoga County. Most of that lead has to be built in the 21st, which is anchored in Cleveland's heavily black East Side.

The district includes poor inner-city areas as well as middle-class territory farther from the downtown area. Devastated by the riots of the 1960s, inner-city neighborhoods Hough and Glenville still bear the scars of poverty but can claim some new residential and commercial development. Further east toward the lake are the middle-class white ethnic neighborhoods of Collinwood, inhabited by Italians, and St. Clare, dominated by Poles, Yugoslavs and other Eastern Europeans.

The 21st is 62 percent black and heavily Democratic. During the last decade, it has been the most Democratic district in the state. In 11 East Side wards in 1980, Jimmy Carter outpolled Ronald Reagan by margins of at least 20-to-1. In 1984, 10 of these wards gave Mondale a 14-to-1 margin over Reagan.

The 21st's major suburbs are Cleveland

Cleveland — East;
Cleveland Heights

Heights, Shaker Heights and the western half of University Heights. With a large proportion of Jews and young professionals, these are among the most liberal communities in Ohio. All of them voted for Carter in 1980 and for Mondale in 1984. North of Shaker Heights is Cleveland Heights, many of whose integrated neighborhoods are a short walk from University Circle, home of Case-Western Reserve University and the cultural hub of Cleveland.

From the circle area, commuters drive along historic Euclid Avenue to their jobs downtown. While the avenue now bears the marks of poverty, it was known as "Millionaires' Row" at the turn of the century. Few of the old mansions are left today. The one belonging to John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, was razed to make way for a gas station.

Population: 514,625. White 187,180 (36%), Black 320,816 (62%), Asian and Pacific Islander 2,832 (1%). Spanish origin 5,134 (1%). 18 and over 373,272 (73%), 65 and over 63,109 (12%). Median age: 31.

a series of rules changes that would have created a separate panel of members to try disciplinary cases after the ethics committee recommended action. But nothing ever came of the idea.

Stokes' ethics chairmanship marked the second time he moved in to take over a troubled committee. In 1977 he became chairman of the bitterly divided panel that was investigating the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.

The original chairman, Henry Gonzalez of Texas, got into a nasty public fight with Richard Sprague, the Pennsylvania prosecutor who had been hired as committee counsel. The committee backed Sprague, and Gonzalez quit in a huff. O'Neill chose Stokes to replace him.

Stokes shifted the hearings behind closed doors and out of the news. He led a disciplined inquiry, highlighted by a dramatic cross-examination of King's killer, James Earl Ray. The final report was accepted with some relief though many doubted its conclusions — that

there probably were conspiracies in both cases. Stokes emerged with his reputation enhanced.

Stokes was the first black appointed to the Appropriations Committee and still is the only one on its HHS and HUD subcommittees. He also served on the Budget Committee for three terms, but did not play a major part in its work.

Stokes' role on Appropriations changed with President Reagan's election. Before, he had focused on minority-related issues, leaving much of the detail to other senior Democrats. But in 1981, he began spending more time at hearings, grilling witnesses and trying to protect domestic programs from cutbacks.

Stokes largely wrote the budget offered by black members on the floor in 1981. He attacked Reagan's budget for providing "millions more for the most prosperous in our nation, while pennies are taken away from the poor...."

In recent years, Stokes has pushed a variety of amendments in Appropriations that illustrate his priorities. One added \$140 million for Pell Grants for college tuition, another

Louis Stokes, D-Ohio

restored \$100 million for grants to elementary schools in poor communities under Title 1 of the 1965 education law. A third added \$25 million in operating subsidies for public housing programs.

At Home: The Stokes family has been the dominant force in Cleveland's black politics since Louis Stokes' younger brother, Carl, first ran for mayor in the mid-1960s. Carl left politics for television after two terms in City Hall (1967-71), but Louis has remained active. Politically secure, he has been free to help friends and quarrel with enemies over city issues.

Louis Stokes' first victory was won as much in court as on Cleveland's East Side. Representing a black Republican, he charged in a 1967 suit that the Ohio Legislature had gerrymandered the state's congressional districts, dividing the minority vote and preventing the election of a black. Stokes won an

appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court, forcing the lines to be redrawn.

The new 21st District, represented by white Democrat Charles A. Vanik, was about 60 percent black. Vanik decided to run elsewhere, leaving the 21st vacant.

There were 14 candidates in the Democratic primary there in 1968, but little doubt about the outcome. Stokes' ties to his brother and reputation as a civil rights lawyer won him 41 percent in an easy victory. He became the first black congressman from Ohio that November by defeating the Republican he had represented in court the previous year.

Over the last decade, Stokes has consolidated his power through his organization, the 21st District Congressional Caucus. Some black politicians have accused him of turning the caucus into a personal political tool, but he is as popular as ever among rank-and-file voters.

Committees

Appropriations (9th of 35 Democrats)
District of Columbia; HUD-Independent Agencies; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education.

Select Intelligence (2nd of 10 Democrats)
Program and Budget Authorization (chairman); Legislation.

Elections

1964 General
Louis Stokes (D) 165,247 (82%)
Robert L. Woodall (R) 29,500 (15%)

1968 General
Louis Stokes (D) 132,544 (86%)
Alan Shetteen (R) 21,332 (14%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1960 (86%) 1976 (86%)
1976 (84%) 1974 (82%) 1972 (81%) 1978 (78%)
1968 (75%)

District Vote For President

1964		1968		1972	
D	164,178 (78%)	D	138,444 (71%)	D	162,837 (71%)
R	43,331 (21%)	R	42,838 (22%)	R	60,822 (27%)
		I	9,822 (5%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1964			
Stokes (D)	\$134,203	\$58,518 (44%)	\$116,584
1968			
Stokes (D)	\$154,448	\$50,261 (32%)	\$138,843

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1964	22	68	88	3	0	93
1963	11	80	86	3	6	85

Year	27	65	91	4	10	86
1961	29	66	93	4	5	91
1960	55	21	78	4	2	78
1979	78	14	90	3	3	92
1978	76	15	81	4	4	86
1977	77	19	87	3	4	82
1976	24	69	85	3	4	83
1975	30	62	88	3	3	84
1974 (Ford)	41	52				
1974	34	49	82	4	1	83
1973	19	48	84	4	3	82
1972	32	46	66	4	1	74
1971	21	58	72	3	0	66

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Raises Social Security retirement age to 67 (1963)
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1963)
Reduce dairy price supports (1963)
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1963)
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1964)
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1964)
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1964)
Cut education spending (1964)
Authorizes procurement of 21 MX missiles (1965)

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1964	95	5	85	23
1963	80	4	94	18
1962	85	0	100	24
1961	90	0	83	11
1960	78	10	94	82
1979	95	0	94	6
1978	85	10	100	18
1977	90	0	91	7
1976	85	0	87	6
1975	89	4	100	18
1974	74	0	100	0
1973	68	10	100	0
1972	100	5	90	14
1971	89	4	80	-